



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Advocate of Peace

VOL. LXXX

MAY, 1918

NUMBER 5

BEYOND THE TRENCHES.

EVEN the "man on the street" must be impressed by the colossal figures of the business we are in. April 26, the United States Treasury Department extended an additional credit of \$3,580,000 to Belgium, making a total of \$107,850,000 loaned to that country. Our total credits to all our Allies are now \$5,288,850,000. During the month of March we spent on the war \$37,000,000 a day. There is every reason to believe that this rate of expenditure will be increased. We call attention to these figures, not because they are discouraging, but because they are impressive. The Civil War cost the North 17 per cent of its total possessions. As ex-Senator Theodore E. Burton, formerly President of this Society, has recently pointed out, if we were to spend \$33,000,000,000 on this war it would be but 14 per cent of our present total wealth of \$240,000,000,000. It will be a long time before we reach 17 per cent of our total wealth. Hence, we need not be troubled at the financial prospects facing our government, tremendous though the figures be.

But the raising of money, the mobilization of our men, and the military prosecution of this war have not by any means left this Society high and dry. The promoters of international justice are not without a job. We would not belittle the virtue of "obedience" in this hour of history. We would not ignore the fact of "dread." We recognize "hatred" when we see it. We admire the spirit of "adventure" abroad in our land. But willingness to obey, and passions of fear and hate and of high adventure, indispensable though these may be, are not alone sufficient for the task facing our modern world, the task of removing the vicious set of ideas illustrated, let us say, most loathesomely by the dynastic ambitions of Central Europe. We would win this war. We would win it for the sake of a rational future for those who are to come after us. But as on the margin of death Edith Cavell concluded that "patriotism is not enough," so we on the firing line of human liberty must visualize with increasing clearness our obligations to the "great community."

We of the American Peace Society exist to keep burning the moral beacons of States. We would that our soldiers, our laborers, our total citizenry may become crusaders indeed, sustained immeasurably by the facts, and heartened gloriously by the hopes and visions of a governed world.

Identity of interests is the hope of the world. International community of interests has produced international co-operative behavior heretofore. An international community of interests in the problems of hygiene and demography gave rise to a series of international congresses, the fifteenth of which was held at Washington, D. C., in September, 1912. International community of interests has given to us international labor unions, international money orders, an international postal union, an international apple growers association. An international community of interests has landed us against an unprecedented task. This great international community of interests for which we are going forth to war is capable of definition. It is not that we may defeat the Germans in terms of physical force alone. It is that we may disabuse their minds of world-destructive prepossessions and thus defeat them indeed. The world community of interests demands this no less today than before we entered this war. Especially does it demand a judicial union of the nations that we may establish justice between States in accordance with the principles of law and equity. Identity of interests will yet establish it.

It was because of a community of interests that the American colonies had a meeting by their delegates in Philadelphia in 1787, set up in fact an international tribunal, "a court of the States, in which they consented to be sued for the settlement of the controversies bound to arise between and among them, renouncing the right of settlement by diplomacy, and wisely eschewing the resort to force. There was, in the opinion of its members then, as there is today, only a court of justice between the breakdown of diplomacy on the one hand, and the outbreak of war on the other." Since its creation, eighty controversies between our States have been argued, debated, and decided by that tribunal.

The Society of Nations cannot ignore this long victory of argument and decision illustrated since 1799 by the Supreme Court of the United States. This is the world's richest illustration of what a community of interests can accomplish in terms of international justice. We know of nothing more important than that our leaders, above all, our soldiers, should know and feel the significance of this contribution to the practise of nations. Fortunately, we are able to announce that Dr. James Brown Scott has brought to-

gether the eighty decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States covering controversies between the States of the American Union, and that these decisions are to appear in two volumes under the title, "Judicial Settlement of Controversies Between the States of the American Union." A study of them will convince any reader that these cases should have been made easily available long ago. Undoubtedly it was a realization of the importance of the United States Supreme Court as an international organ that led William Ladd, the founder of this Society, to write in 1841 his essay, "A Congress and High Court of Nations." It is, we believe, of the highest importance that these cases should be known at home and abroad. It is not irrelevant to the purposes of this war to know that our highest court has held that "in suits against a State, if the State shall refuse or neglect to appear, upon due service of process, no coercive measure will be taken to compel appearance; but the complainant, or plaintiff, will be allowed to proceed *ex parte*." The believers in an international coercive League will be interested in the decision, which holds that, if judgment is rendered against a defendant State in behalf of the plaintiff State, "there is no power delegated to the General Government, either through the Judicial Department or any other department, to use any coercive means." We have been privileged to read in the author's prefatory note in the page proofs now before us of the volumes to which we here refer, these thoughtful words: "It is believed that a perusal of the preliminary material, and a careful consideration of the controversies between the States, decided in the Supreme Court, will convince the layman, as well as the practitioner, that what forty-eight States of the American Union do, a like number of States, forming the Society of Nations can also do, and that the Supreme Court of the one, and an International Court of Justice of the other, can in both decide controversies between them, according to that due process of law which obtains between individuals, and without which neither States nor Nations can hope to endure." We repeat that the community of interests among nations will demand again, as in 1899 and 1907, a judicial union where controversies between States can be settled without resort to a bedlam such as now is upon us. We shall go on with our army, and our navy, with the social work, the relief work, the religious work, the literary work. All our sacrifices will go on. But how immeasurably fine these all would be, and effective besides, if only we could visualize beyond no-man's-land the great thing for which we are going forth!

Our systematic thinking must go on. We must pursue one of two courses, one leading to a governed world,

the other to a perpetual riot of hell fire. Barbarizing "concerts" and defunct philosophies must give way to a clearer conception of duty, to a deeper joy in beauty, to a respect for truth, in short, to law and order. In the long run wisdom is justified by her children. To establish, humanize, and control international relations is the end of international justice; and international justice is the end of States. Believing these things, we can view even with complacency the financial costs of this war. We can press forward with our plans for the end of wars by the way first of a judicial union of nations. We can hearten ourselves, our statesmen, especially our soldiers, give American point and purpose to the war, help win the war indeed, by throwing beyond the trenches the vision of a rationalized world.

THE CHALLENGE TO THE CHURCH.

THERE is no doubt that the present war has brought the Church, all denominations included, face to face with the most significant challenge in its history. It is charged with being passionless at a time when the world is fuller of passion than ever before. It is told to its teeth that it is untouched by real conditions, and that it is interested mainly in matters of its own relatively insignificant organization. Combined with its "smug apathy" there is a vision-destroying hunger for little besides members and pew rentals. A correspondent writes us with considerable heat insisting that the Church is interested in no reform "thirty minutes ahead of its time." Charged with the most radical message of history, it has become the most conservative of institutions. At no time has it shown any intelligent interest in international justice, before or since this war began. Rather it condoned the policies making for this war. It did nothing to prevent this war. The work for an internationally governed world, like the struggle of Garrison, Parker, Sumner and the others for human freedom, has to be pushed on outside the Church and without its aid. Before us is an article recently written by a well-known Bishop, in which it is granted that the ministry is lowly thought of by youth within and without the Church, by the church members, by out-siders, and by the ministry itself. There is no doubt that the church is challenged.

It is well that the Church is challenged. The same learned Bishop to whom we have just referred, at a time when the world is faced with more terrific concrete situations than ever before, offers only the following rather nebulous and abstract remedies for the weakness at the heart of the Church. He says: "First of all the ministry is needed to call men from their sins and